Is Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

101 They speak both Shiná and Pukhtu [pronounced by the [197] Shin people 'Postó.'] The Baltis, or Little Tibetans, call the Shin and also the Nagyr people 'Brokhpá,' or, as a term of respect, 'Brokhpá bábo.'* Offshoots of the 'Shin' people live in Little Tibet and even the district of Dras, near the Zojilá pass on the Ladák road towards Kashmir, [167] was once Shin and was called by them *Humèss.* I was the first traveller who discovered that there were Shin colonies in Little Tibet, viz.: the villages of Shingôtsh, Sáspur, Brashbrialdo, Bashó, Danàl djúnele, Tâtshin, Dorôt (inhabited by pure Shins), Zungót, Tortzé (in the direction of Rongdu) and Durò, one day's march from Skardo."†

The Chilásis call themselves *Boté.*‡

" " " their fellow-countrymen of Takk = "*Kané*" or *Takke-Kané.*

[the *Matshukè* are now an extinct race, at all events in Dardistan proper.]

The Chilâsis call Gilgitis = *Gilitì.*
" " " Astóris = *Astortjje.*
" " " Gôrs = *Gorîje.*
" " " Dureylis = *Darêle.*
" " " Baltis = *Palóye.* Gil. = *Polôle.*
" " " Ladáki = *Botì.* Pl. of Bôt.
" " " Kashmiris = *Kashíre.*
" " " Dogras = *Sikkì* [Sikhs] now "Dôgréy."
" " " Affghans = *Patáni.*
" " " Nagyris = *Khadjunì.*
" " " Hunzas = *Hunzíje.*
" " " Yasinis = *Poré.*
" " " Punyalis = *Punyé.*
" " " Kirghiz = *Kirghìz.*

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generally fighting with each other. Shepherds from these places often bring their flocks for sale to Gilgit. I met a few.

* This name is also and properly given by the Baltis to their Dard fellow-countrymen. " Indeed the Little Tibetans look more like Dards than Ladákis.

† *Place aux dames!* For six years I believed myself "the discoverer" of this fact, but I find that, as regards Kartakchun in Little Tibet, I have been nearly anticipated by Mrs. Harvey, who calls the inhabitants "Dards," "Dârods" (or "Dardoos.")

‡ My Sazini calls the people of his own place = Bigé; those of Tórr = *Manuké*, and those of Harbenn = *Jure.*

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afgh. AV3
Av3 Dard AV3

valleys of Doodooshal and Kandbari, can muster about 3,000 fighting men, but the people are neither fanatical nor turbulent. Since 1860 Darel has paid a yearly tribute to Cashmere of four tolas of gold dust; but no Cashmere officials ever enter the country, and the state of the community differs in no respect from that of other Kohistan republics. In the autumn of 1866 the Cashmere troops invaded Darel in two columns, to chastise the people for joining the rulers of Chitral and Yassin in an attack upon Gilgit. The only resistance met with was at the foot of one of the passes, where a breastwork had been erected across the defile. After a day's resistance the Darelis fled, fearing probably to be taken in rear by the flanking column, and in the pursuit suffered considerably. The whole population fled to the mountains, and no further resistance was offered A few of the Darel leaders were hung, and after a brief stay the troops returned, not without considerable difficulty owing to an unusually early fall of snow, which caused the loss of over a hundred men. Since then Darel has given no trouble to Cashmere. The Kandbari Valley is popularly credited with great mineral wealth, from which probably it derives its name. No mines, however, are now worked there.

Above Darel is the small community of Hodar, which has paid a yearly tribute of two tolas of gold-dust to Cashmere since 1860. From the head of the Hodar Valley a road leads into the Gilgit Valley. In Hodar there is a small settlement of Cashmeri refugees, who fled from the severity of the Pathan rule about a hundred years ago.

Above Hodar are the small valleys of Talpin and Gies, which support a scanty population. The former is a dependency of Chilas, but Gies is claimed both by Chilas and Gor, between which communities disputes have of late become frequent in consequence. From the heads of both of these, good roads lead into the Gilgit Valley. Continuing up the right bank of the Indus, Gor, the last Yaghestan community on that bank, is reached, standing on a high plateau two miles from the river. Notwithstanding its exposed position and its proximity to Chilas, idolatrous customs have lingered in Gor longer than in any other place in Shinkari, and are even now scarcely extinct. Gor can furnish 500 fighting men, and in ancient times was always closely connected with Gilgit. Since the establishment of the Sikh rule across the Indus, Gor has paid to Cashmere a yearly tribute of twelve goats, and is bound to furnish one man from each house for

39: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU1-Afghanistan-AU1
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AV3 Dard AV3

CHAPTER VI.

TORWAL AND BUSHKAR.

IN the Punjkorah and Swat Valleys are two communities, Torwal and Bushkar, whose people can claim a close relationship with the tribes already mentioned, especially with those of the Indus Valley. The more considerable of the two are the Torwalik in the Swat Valley, who occupy the main valley for about 60 miles from Araneh to Chiroleh, and the Chahil Durrah, the habitable part of which is about 20 miles long. Within these limits there are nine fortified villages, the largest of which are Chahil, containing 1,000 families, Branihal, 800 families, and Ramet, 600 families. The whole community numbers upwards of 20,000 souls. In appearance they do not differ from the tribes of the Indus Valley, and there can be little doubt that the Chiliss are an offshoot of the Torwalik, and take their name from Chahil, the principal village of Torwal. I have not seen a sufficient number of the Torwalik to ascertain whether any tradition exists among them as to their having formerly occupied any other locality, and neither tribe seems to have retained any tradition of connection with the other, but the tradition[1] still extant among the Chiliss evidently supplies the correct clue to their former history. The separation of the two portions of the tribe has, however, produced considerable differences in the dialects now spoken.[2]

The large number of the Torwalik, as compared with most of the other Dard tribes, indicates that they must have once occupied some extensive valley like Boneyr, from whence they, like the rest, have been expelled and thrust up into the more mountainous tracts by the aggressive Afghans. By the Afghans they are called Kohistanis, a name given everywhere by Pathans to Mussulmans of Indic descent, living in the Hindoo Koosh Valleys. The never-ceasing encroachment from the south is gradually pushing the Torwalik further north. Their most southern village, Chiroleh, has a mixed population of Afghans and Kohistanis, from which the latter

[1] See page 10.

[2] See Appendix D.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Balti AV2

D 564 [262] One might infer that they are, or have been, of the Shīn caste, from the fact that all those customs concerning the cow, which we saw to be characteristic of that caste, are held by these Buddhist Dārds to an extreme degree.

D 177 622 595 It is curious to trace how in some respects they keep to the customs of the race they sprang from, and how in others they have adopted the customs of the Buddhists.[1] There seems to be an instance of the former case in that their headmen of villages (at all events in the Hanū Valley) are elected for three years only, and even within that time are sometimes changed; this is certainly a trace of the republican system, of which something will be said in Chapter XX. On the other hand, we see them following the Buddhist Ladākhīs in the practice of polyandry, to which they are completely given; among these Buddhist Dārds a woman has sometimes as many as five husbands.

D 171 792 764 Their religion, I think, lies easy upon them; they are not so attentive to its ordinances as the Ladākhīs are; and I do not think that any of their young men are trained up to be Lāmās. Their dead they burn, and the bones of them they stow away in holes in the cliff, closing up these with stones.

SUNDRY NOTES.

D 167 Leaving now the Buddhist Dārds, we will note a few isolated facts concerning the race generally.

It has been seen from the map that the Dārds have spread, driven by want, or by oppression, or by disturbances, from their own countries across certain ridges into valleys that were occupied by other races; in these they often live side by side with those other races—as with the Kashmīrīs and the Baltīs—sometimes in villages separate, sometimes occupying part of the same village.

B 563 D 564 262 167 At Rondū the Dārds nearly equal the Baltīs; the two do not intermarry. At Bāsho also the two races are about half and half, but here they have intermarried, and the distinctiveness has been broken up. At Dorū and at Satpūr they are of those who do not drink cow's milk; these must be of the Shīn caste.

[1] [The Buddhist Dards living in Ladakh. Ed.]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Balti AV4

At Drās the Dārds (who here are Sunīs) form more than half the community, the others being Baltīs, who are Shīas.

Wherever the Dārds are in contact with Baltīs or with Bhots, these others call them (whether they be Muhammadan or Buddhist Dārds) *Brokpā* or *Blokpā*. The word Brok or Blok means in Tibetan a high pasture-ground, and Brokpā or Blokpā must mean a "highlander." The origin of this appellation for the Dārds I take to be this, that they first came in contact with the Baltīs by coming over the Passes and settling in the higher parts of the valleys, parts that perhaps had been left unoccupied.

There is a colony of Kashmīrī among the Dārds at Gilgit, or rather there is an infusion of Kashmīrī blood in a certain section of the Gilgit people; many generations back there must have been a settlement of Kashmīris, who took unto themselves Gilgitī wives. The descendants have quite lost the language and the ways of Kashmir, and to a stranger's eye they are quite Gilgitī, but the Dārds themselves distinguish, and, as to intermarrying, keep separate from them.

In one or two higher valleys of Baltistān I have noticed a difference in the people, as compared with the ordinary Baltī, which may perhaps be due to some admixture of Dārd blood, although the fact is not noticed or known by the people themselves. Thus, at Pakora in Brāldū the men were much better looking than the ordinary Baltīs; they had well-shaped features, and had a manly bearing; I noted this at a time when I knew less about the Dārds than afterwards; now, it seems to me likely that some of that race came over the difficult Passes from Nagar and made a settlement among the Baltīs. Again, in the Turmik Valley, many villagers have a high and broad forehead, and hooked nose, though they call themselves Baltī; I have little doubt that here too is Dārd blood, the immigrating Dārds having become absorbed into the community of Baltīs, but still making a mark. These two cases I have not represented on the Race Map, not thinking them distinct enough for that; the area of Turmik and of Brāldū is coloured for Baltī alone.

There is one other peculiarity belonging to a class, which may

WT 166 women while others importing their own Balti wives. These people live in Leh or the villages surrounding it and carry on trade in butter, salt, wool, apricot etc.

167 (*xiii*) *Gilgit.*– Several tribes from Yaghistan, Afghanistan, Chitral, Hazara, Hunza, Nagar, Kashmir and the Punjab have come and settled in Gilgit. Some of the Yaghistanis have migrated to Gilgit and settled there. Others have fled from the country to escape the penalty attendant on family feuds so common among primitive and uncivilized people. Some have been driven by poverty and debt to come to Gilgit from Yaghistan. Some of them have succeeded even in acquiring land. These people are generally habitual criminals and constitute a scourge to the local inhabitants whose morals have also been affected by coming in contact with them.

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From Afghanistan, Chitral and Hazara in the N. W. F. Province have come Pathans, Shins and Yashkuns. Their chief occupations are service, labour and trade. The Punjab has contributed some Hindus and Sikhs who are mainly engaged in trade.

From the Jammu Province some Hindus have migrated on trade mission and some Gujjars have also settled in the area and follow their own calling.

A large number of Kashmiri Muslims from the province of Kashmir have gone to Gilgit for purposes of trade and settled there.

From Ladakh have come Baltis who are usually labourers or are employed in some sort of service. The postmen in Gilgit are generally of Balti tribe. The Baltis stay there for a year or so and return home after that period. Some of them have married local women and thereby acquired land. In Baltistan they are divided into separate tribes but here they are labelled as Yashkum without distinction.

Trade in this part of the country holds out bright prospects which have attracted immigrants of so many countries and parts of countries to settle in Gilgit.

The local inhabitants are generally landholders who do not take kindly to labour. There are no black-smiths, cobblers or carpenters in the country. Naturally therefore labourers from Baltistan, Hunza and Nagar and the artisans are hired into the place and return home after making money.

Before Gilgit passed under the Dogra rule there were no roads. The paths led over mountains and were perilous in the extreme. Such a state of affairs interdicted immigration of the trading community though it did not present an insurmountable obstacle to agriculturists and pastoral people. After the establishment of Dogra rule communications underwent a distinct improvement which led people to keep ponies for transport. In Astore at present the people generally depend on this form of transport for a major part of their income. In Gilgit proper even carts are maintained by some zamindars now.

Labour in Gilgit especially for construction of roads and bridges comes from Hunza, Nagar, Baltistan and other surrounding villages.

Were there no Burzil pass between Kashmir and Gilgit migration would expand but the pass remains closed for nearly six months of the year and permanently bars egress and ingress. Gilgit, however, does not hold out unlimited possibilities for immigrants as the population is on the rise while the culturable land is limited and the produce insufficient.

D 771 177 Immigration has affected the customs of the people. The Yaghistanis are Sunnis while the people of Gilgit belong to the Shia sect. In the past the Gilgit-walas observed no distinction between Sunnis and Shias and mutual

AVI Kashmir AV1
Dard AV3

marital relations were frequent but the growing influx of Yaghistanis has served to make the distinction pronounced and now such relations are rare.

D 771 177

The religious life of the people in the past was also simple but contact with outsiders has brought about a change in religious outlook and has made the people turn to Quranic injunctions with greater zeal and fidelity.

Formerly the local population was divided into castes and each caste was endogamous but this practice is now giving way as a result of observance of Mohammaden law. The people have no emigratory tendencies and do not go out for labour or service but they have begun to send out boys to College at Srinagar for prosecution of studies which marks a change.

Frontier Illaqas.—Hemmed in on all sides by high mountain passes the Frontier Illaqas seem to be intended by Nature to remain untouched by the problem of migration. Nevertheless inquisitiveness and search for livelihood makes man penetrate into this isolated country also. There is a periodic flow of Gujjars from Yaghistan and Gilgit to the hill grazing grounds in the upper valleys of the mountain block that separates the two territories. This lasts for some four months in the year.

D 167 ●

Besides Gujjars, Khiliwals from the Lower Indus Kohistan come to these Illaqas for trade or labour and have brought about a slight change in caste occupations by inducing a few of the locals to take up trade. The number affected is, however, almost negligible though no doubt a beginning has been made.

From Hunza where the population is greater than the country can comfortably support, a few individuals come down to Gilgit in search of work, and occasionally go to India to seek employment, but the people in general are so devoted to their homes that they prefer scarcity and want there to greater prosperity elsewhere.

100 Conclusion.—We are now in a position to state the general facts about migration which follow as a conclusion from the above account.

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(1) The castes that are comparatively more migratory are the Gujjars, Gaddis and Bakarwals who follow pastoral professions.

Next to them come Kashmiri Muslims whose annual exodus to British India constitutes the main emigration current. The Baltis and Mirpur people are also more on the move[1] than others. The Brahmans and other Hindu castes who go to the Punjab for labour are comparatively fewer in number. The trading section of the Hindus, and the Rajputs who go out in quest of service, contribute a fair share to the volume of migration.

(2) The emigrants from the State are generally males while immigrants also have a preponderance of males. Those immigrants who have permanently or semi-permanently settled in the State either as traders or missionaries or State servants are accompanied by their families though some of them send out their families to down countries in winter which detracts from female population in winter, the time when census is taken. During summer the casual visitors to the Kashmir valley are accompanied by their wives but the male element is in excess.

(3) The emigration of the State inhabitants has no effect on sex fertility as the emigration is periodic lasting from 4 to 5 months.

(4) Migration has resulted in greater fidelity to religion especially in the case of Muslims who by coming in contact with outside Muslims have begun to follow the Quranic injunctions with greater devotion. The changes effected in religious sphere in Gilgit illustrate this tendency. As regards Hindus, a liberalising of beliefs is noticeable especially as the result of Arya Samaj activity.

[1] [Errata: read "more"; cf. errata sheet, p. 329, category 116 --Analyst]

Dard AV3
AVI Kashmir AVI
Kashmiri AV4
w. Tibetans AJ4

Ki 167

Srinagar District (excluding city)—Has a lesser number of outsiders than even Baramulla, the number being 2,053 only, out of which 1,805 belong to the N. W. F. Province and 212 to the Punjab. The U. P. of Agra and Oudh resume their position amongst the remaining provinces.

This number, however, represents semi-permanent and permanent migration and does not reflect casual migration which swells to several thousands in summer when the valley is free from snow.

Muzaffarabad District—Has 2,447 immigrants, the largest number in Kashmir. The N. W. F. Province retains its premier position by accounting for 1,735 persons while the Punjab has 624 to its credit and the U. P. of Agra and Oudh occupy the 3rd position as in the case of Srinagar district.

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Ladakh District—Belongs to that part of the State which is isolated from the rest of the world for a number of months. The journey occupies a number of days and the room for migration is limited. It has, however, ties of religion and trade with Tibet, China and Turkistan dating from ancient times and a few families of enterprising Punjabis have settled there and some also migrate to the country periodically for purposes of trade as Ladakh is the emporium of Central Asian Trade.

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The total number of Indian immigrants as is naturally to be expected is 133 out of which 38 are females pointing to the hardships of travel in those parts which makes the immigrants reluctant to take their families with them. Out of these 120 are Punjabis while 6 persons are residents of U. P. of Agra and Oudh.

Gilgit District—Gilgit shows a better record of 230 out of which 50 per cent. is contributed by the Punjab and 71 persons by the N. W. F. Province, the U. P. of Agra and Oudh occupying the 3rd position.

Frontier Illaqas—The Indian immigrants total upto 447 and N. W. F. Province stands first with 157 while the Punjab has only 92, the U. P. of Agra and Oudh being 3rd.

K 167

104. Migration between the State and other Asiatic Countries.—The number of immigrants from Asiatic countries beyond India is only 2,786 the major portion of which is absorbed by Gilgit, Frontier Illaqas and Kashmir South. Afghanistan, Chinese Turkistan and Tibet are the most notable contributors and the reason is apparent. They are contiguous to the Frontier Districts just as the Punjab is to the Jammu Province. The Central Asian Trade attracts them all. As regards Tibet and China, the Buddhists of Ladakh belong to the Tibetan race and are their kinsmen in religion. The country was under the Tibetan rule prior to its conquest by W. Zorawar Singh under Maharaja Gulab Singh as stated in the historical survey.

105. Inter-District Migration.—To understand the causes of migration and its course it is necessary to refer to the geographical situation of the districts. To make the discussion easily understood the districts contiguous to each district are given in the margin. Coming to each district we shall see how contiguous areas play a great part in exchanging migrants. The statistics of immigrants and emigrants are given in the table below:—

District.	Contiguous Areas within the State.
Jammu ..	Reasi, Kathua, Udhampur and Mirpur.
Kathua ..	Udhampur, Jammu.
Udhampur ..	Kathua, Jammu, Reasi, Chenani, Ladakh, Srinagar.
Reasi ..	Jammu, Udhampur, Mirpur, Poonch.
Mirpur ..	Reasi, Jammu, Poonch.
Poonch ..	Reasi, Mirpur, Baramulla, Srinagar, Muzaffarabad.
Baramulla ..	Poonch, Muzaffarabad, Srinagar, Ladakh, Gilgit.
Srinagar ..	Udhampur, Reasi, Ladakh, Baramulla.
Muzaffarabad ..	Poonch, Baramulla, Gilgit, Chilas.
Ladakh ..	Udhampur, Srinagar, Baramulla, Gilgit.
Gilgit ..	Ladakh, Chilas, Punyal, Hunza, Nagar, Baramulla, Srinagar.
Frontier Illaqas ..	Gilgit, Ladakh, Muzaffarabad.

Kashmiri AV4
AV1 Kashmir AV1
Dard AV3
Dogra AV6

(vi) *Jagirs of Chenani and Poonch*—Take in more than they give. The immigrants and emigrants as usual are contributed by or to contiguous districts, the remote areas having only a minor share.

(vii) *Kashmir Province*—The same story is repeated here. The number of immigrants from neighbouring districts is in all cases in excess of those from remote tracts while emigrants also move in the same rut. In Kashmir South or Srinagar, however, the emigrants even to remote areas are considerable in number.

(viii) *Frontier Districts*—In this tract the Gilgit district and the Frontier Illaqas refuse to fall in line with other districts of the State as in their case the contributions from remote areas is larger than from the adjoining Illaqas and they are not niggardly in sending emigrants to remote areas. A reference to Table VI will show that the immigrants are mostly from the Jammu Province. This is due to the State Force staying at these places which has its soldiery generally drawn from the Jammu Province.

As regards emigrants there is nothing uncommon in Gilgit and the number of emigrants from Frontier Illaqas is too insignificant (47 only) to be taken into consideration. None of the emigrants of this Illaqa was enumerated in the Jammu Province. The largest number is reported by the Srinagar district.

106. Emigrants.—While it is possible to give a reliable account of the immigrants from all countries into the State it is impossible to ascertain the number of emigrants to all countries for the Census operations are confined to India and no arrangements exist for a return of emigrants to other Asiatic countries like China, Afghanistan, Turkistan etc. Leaving the question of overseas emigrants to later consideration we would confine our attention to emigrants in India alone.

The total number of emigrants to India from this State is 94,448 which shows an increase of 10,156 over the figures of 1921 and of 12,500 over those of 1911. This shows that the isolation of the State if it ever existed, is being gradually and systematically broken. The contiguous provinces of the Punjab, the N. W. F. and Baluchistan absorb the lion's share out of the emigrants *i. e.*, 90,505 of the emigrants are enumerated in these provinces. Out of the remaining Indian Provinces the U. P. and the Bombay Presidency stand foremost. The United Provinces occupy a conspicuous position in supplying immigrants and the flow of emigrants to that area is thus natural being based on well established reciprocal relations. The State is, however, represented in nearly all major provinces like Bengal, Central Province and Berar, Bihar and Orissa, Assam. The Madras Province forms the only exception. As regards Indian States the Mysore State reports the large number of 73, Hydrabad comes second with 42, Gwalior third with 39, the Bombay States return 30 persons, the State of Boroda 28 and Western India States Agency 22.

It is a pity that the lack of information about the birth district of emigrants precludes us from discussing the quota made by each State, Province or District, to the volume of emigration. It may, however, be assumed that with the exception of Frontier Districts, the Provinces of Jammu and Kashmir contribute a fairly good share, the Kashmir Province topping the list as its population migrates in winter to India, especially to the Punjab, in large numbers to escape the rigours of Kashmir cold and to supplement their income.

107. Sex and Migration.—The figures of immigrants show that the number of females is in excess of males in the case of the Punjab, Assam, Burma, U. P. States and China. With the exception of Punjab the number is, however, too small to need any comment. As regards the Punjab it has already been stated that the marriage relations between the two adjoining areas are frequent and the people of the Punjab are also found in a much larger numbers in State service and trade than those of any other province. The improvement of communications and the security of life and property in the State have combined to induce the immigrants to bring their families with them, for Kashmir is now no longer an isolated tract and one can reach the Punjab from